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ABSTRACT

Recognizing that some of the lessons educational television teaches children are cultural--how to be members of their own cultural group, for example, or what other cultural groups are like--a study developed qualitative methods for the formative evaluation of the accuracy of an educational television program's cultural content with respect to the culture of the group being portrayed. The study included individual and group interviews of a representative sample of Chicanos from San Jose, California on their reactions to "Villa Alegre," a program aimed at Hispanic elementary school students. Questioned on how similar the taped situations were to their own experience, the informants indicated that while the situations presented seemed realistic--one segment, for example, involved a student who had hit his friend--the adult characters' reactions to the incidents were not realistic. Besides remarking discrepancies in use of language on the television program and in "real life," informants offered an abundance of unsolicited but potentially useful cultural information. The document suggests that future research needs to identify the significant variables defining a target culture, and suggest methods of using these variables in selecting cultural informants. Furthermore, as informants tend to report on the culture as it should be rather than as it is, questioning techniques to distinguish fact from value must be refined. (MM)

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TELEVISION FOR CULTURAL AFFIRMATION: AN APPROACH TO FORMATIVE RESEARCH

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The birth of "Sesame Street" in 1968 led to the creation of a genre of educational television programs for children produced on the "Sesame Street" model. "Culture" became a salient feature of these shows. Target audiences were defined in cultural terms, and program goals encouraged an appreciation of other cultures. Producers translated these goal statements into program content by including cultural material in the shows. The dual intent of this content was to appeal to the target audience by reflecting its cultural characteristics, and to teach about other groups by selecting cast members from various cultural groups and portraying as natural and happy the interactions among them. Therefore, culture has played a role in these shows through: 1) casting decisions, 2) the items or "artifacts" in the set, 3) use of the native language of members of the target culture, 4) music, and 5) visits to settings "typical" of the cultural group being portrayed.

While this attention to cultural content is commendable, the inclusion of cultural material does not ensure that the content accurately reflects the culture of the group being portrayed. Without verifying its accuracy, cultural content on television can easily go the route of "culture units" in some classrooms. Rather than integrate cultural differences into students' daily activities, teachers often use a "spaghetti and folk dancing" approach, presenting culture at the level of artifacts and holidays. There is the danger, as well, of shaping cultural content from an "outsider's perspective." Producers may address this problem by drawing upon the knowledge of members of the production staff may belong to the target culture. Only a few people, however, cannot represent more than a slice of the culture. Furthermore, the process of education and professional training that prepared them for their jobs may have distanced them from their ethnic background. Another option,

rarely employed, is to engage the participation of members of the target culture still living in the community in the production of these shows.

The manner in which culture is portrayed on television is important. Growing evidence in research on children and television indicates that children engage in "incidental" learning from television content. Television serves children as an "early window" on the world (Liebert, Sprafkin & Davidson, 1982). By definition, childhood is a period of time in which children must learn what to expect of the world and what the world expects of them. Although children derive much of this information from the traditional socializers - parents, peers, school and direct experience, television has become a primary socializer through which children acquire a picture of the world. One kind of information children learn from television is cultural: how to be a member of their own group and what members of other groups are like.

Although producers have conducted research to evaluate other aspects of the production, they have not assessed the accuracy of cultural content. They have employed formative evaluation research to determine their success in meeting production goals. Formative research is:

> Research or evaluation administered during the formative stages of a product (a television program in this case) that provides feedback to the production staff, enabling them to modify and improve the product before the final decisions have been made. Formative research is pretesting programs early enough in the process to take corrective action (Mielke, 1977, p. 20).

Producers have consulted formative evaluation research to ensure that cognitive goals were met and that children were attending to the particular program. In the United States, formative research has not focused on cultural content.

This paper describes an exploratory study that represents the initial stage in the development of a formative evaluation methodology focusing on culture. The new research procedure will serve to assess the accuracy of the cultural content of a particular television program with respect to the culture of the group being portrayed. The procedure departs from other formative evaluation techniques in that it employs qualitative methods. Formative research is not wedded to any particular research methods. Instead, it draws upon the methods that are best suited to answering the research question. Most formative research conducted on television programs has employed quantitative methods because production schedules demanded quick results, the particular reseach questions lent themselves to quantitative analysis, and computerized analysis facilitated a quick turn-around time. In contrast, the procedure under development addresses questions of culture that demand a qualitative approach. The procedure also differs from previous research in that it draws upon ethnographic methods and upon the cultural knowledge of members of the group being portrayed.

Procedure

The first step in the development of that methodology was to conduct an exploratory study that was a "simulation" of a formative evaluation. Although the study was conducted as if it were an evaluation commissioned by a production team, it differed in several ways. While an actual evaluation would assess the pilot tapes of a show in production, this study used segments from an existing show as the stimulus material. Informants viewed these tapes and responded to their content as would be the case in an actual study. The researcher did not intend, however, either to report the results to a

production team[1] or to use the research results to make production decisions on a particular show. Instead, she used the findings of the simulated evaluation to consider how best to conduct such research. The exploratory study posed two basic research questions: 1) Does the cultural content of the television show accurately reflect the target culture as perceived by the informants?, and 2) What contributions does the research procedure employed in this study make to the formative task of reflecting the culture of a specific group in the cultural content of a television program?

Since the research addressed questions of culture, the researcher drew from ethnographic research for her approach to the problem. The objective of ethnographic research is to elicit the meanings of events and activities within a particular social scene from the individuals who create and participate in that social scene. The ethnographer becomes a "participant observer" who employs techniques of questioning that will reveal these meanings. The unit of analysis for the ethnographer is a cultural group or a sub-section of a larger cultural group, defined as:

> Any social network forming a corporate entity in which social relations are regulated by custom (Erickson, 1973, p. 10).

The ethnographer must reside in the culture and involve herself with it for a long enough period so that she can "make sense" of the culture as seen from within.

Ethnographic research contributed to this study in several ways. As in ethnographic research, the unit of analysis is a particular cultural group. The aim of the researcher, broadly described, is to elicit from informants the meanings of activities and events in the social scene. Informants are

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[1] The research report was sent to BCTV, the organization responsible for producing the existing show that provided the stimulus tapes for the study.

selected by networking within the cultural group to maximize variation across that group. At the same time, the study differs from ethnographic research.[3] The "social scene" under study is the content of a children's television show. The elicitation process focuses primarily on the degree to which the informants have created and participated in events similar to those represented on the television screen. Through interviews, the researcher attempts to discover whether the activities and events as they are portrayed in the television show constitute a part of the culture of the informants. The study differs from an ethnography, as well, in that the researcher has not spent a long period of time living in the community under study and participating in its activities.

This study makes an important distinction between the concepts of "target audience" and "target culture." Defining a "target audience" is standard practice in the production of an educational television show. While the definition of this group of potential viewers may contain ethnic characteristics, it nearly always establishes an age range. This kind of research introduces the term, "target culture," and calls upon producers to create a second definition. The definition of the target culture describes the group to be portrayed on television and serves as the frame of reference for assessments of cultural accuracy. This definition specifies the characteristics that identify or describe the ethnic group. Age does not enter into the definition for several reasons. The program may include characters of a variety of ages. Furthermore, culture is a product of individuals of different ages. The definition of the target culture also describes the informants who respond to the cultural content. Accurate

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[3] Note that this study does not presume to be an ethnography.

reflection of the variation within the target culture depends on the perspectives of individuals at different places in the life cycle. The placement of age parameters on the definition of the target culture would limit the breadth of perspective to a narrow slice of the culture.

Segments taken from "Villa Alegre," an existing children's educational television program produced by BCTV in Oakland, California, served as the stimulus tapes in this research. Designed for Hispanic children in the early elementary grades in the United States, the program has established social, rather than cognitive, curriculum goals. English and Spanish are the two languages used in this bilingual production. While some individual segments are monolingual in English or Spanish, most segments employ both languages in a "repetition-translation" style.[3] "Villa Alegre" was selected for use in this research because its target audience is relatively narrow by comparison with other shows of the same genre,[4] because the program emphasizes cultural content, and because the age of the target audience was of interest to the researcher.[5] Six segments, matched for subject area and balanced by gender and age of characters, served as the stimulus tapes.[6] Each of the two tapes also

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[3] Conversations are structured so that: 1) one person speaks to the other in English, 2) the second person replies in Spanish by first restating what had been said in English and then making an original comment, and 3) the first person replies in English, similarly restating what had been said in Spanish before going on to add her own comment.

[4] "Sesame Street," for example, is aimed at all preschool children in the United States, while "Villa Alegre" is aimed at a "Hispanic" target audience.

[5] Because of subsequent research plans in the area of racial and ethnic attitude formation in children.

[6] Criteria used to select the segments for the stimulus tapes were: 1) the use of English and Spanish in the segment, 2) content material that addressed cultural issues or that attempted to promote cultural pride, 3) a balance of characters of each gender within each tape and across the twelve segments, 4) a balance in the subject matter addressed in the two videotapes

included equal numbers of film, video and animated segments. Since these three presentation styles serve as distinct production categories for BCTV staff, there was reason to think that the cultural information would differ among the segment types. Furthermore, the genre of children's educational programming commonly relies on these three production categories. Therefore, knowledge about the distinction between these styles might be applicable to other programming.

It is important to note here that, if a program were actually being produced with the plan of submitting it to formative evaluation on cultural content, the target culture would be defined during the initial planning stages of the production. Staff members, using that definition, would do considerable research prior to the creation of the pilot production to draw up a profile of the target culture, which would be used to shape the show. Formative evaluators would use the same definition as a frame of reference when assessing the accuracy of the cultural content. The producers of "Villa Alegre," however, did not establish a definition of a "target culture." The term, Hispanic,[7] in their definition of a "target audience" precluded the use of that definition as a substitute for a definition of a target culture because it referred to a group too heterogeneous to be useful in this kind of research. To conduct the simulation of the formative evaluation, the researcher created a definition of a target culture, which was more narrow

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when the segments were edited together, 5) a predominance of Hispanic characters, 6) the avoidance of potentially controversial topics, such as divorce, and 7) the avoidance of geographically specific events, such as the Renaissance Faire or the San Francisco Exploratorium.

[7] This term aggregates individuals from the three predominant groups of Hispanics in the United States (those of Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban origins) with children from Central and South America. These distinct cultural groups, while similar in their primary language, are nevertheless not homogeneous.

than that of the target audience. The existence of these two definitions would lead one to expect a greater discrepancy between informants' reports on the accuracy of the cultural content of the stimulus tapes in this study than might be the case if such research were conducted on a show in which the definition of the target culture had been established during the initial stages of the planning and maintained throughout the production.

The target culture for this study was defined as "Chicano residents of San Jose, California." While there have been many interpretations of the term, "Chicano" has been defined in this research as a person of Mexican origin and a permanent resident of the United States who either was born in the United States or had lived here for a minimum of ten years. Informants were selected from this population. To reflect the perspective on the culture at different ages or stages in the life cycle, informants were selected from four age groups: 1) children between eight and ten, 2) teenagers between 12 and 17, 3) young adults between 25 and 40, and 4) older adults of 45 and over. A total of 43 informants participated in the study. Approximately ten people, evenly divided by gender, comprised each age group. The researcher initially attempted to select informants by class so that half of the members of each age group would represent professional and half working class families. Since this plan proved unworkable, the researcher instead drew informants from two different communities of residence: an urban "barrio" which had grown up around a cannery near the center of San Jose, and a community, suburban in appearance, located near the area's famed electronics industry. Half of the members of each age group came from each community of residence. The ability to speak both English and Spanish was an additional criterion for selection because it was important for the informants to be able to make judgments about the use of both languages in the bilingual segments.

Once informants were selected, an important step in the research preceded the viewing of the stimulus tapes. In this step, the researcher established the concept of "culture" with the informants. This was accomplished by exposing informants to a brief segment from "Bean Sprouts," another children's educational program. Produced in San Francisco for Cantonese children living in the United States, the program was selected for this stage of the research because it focused on another cultural group living in the United States and utilized a relatively narrow, or homogeneous, definition of its target audience. Furthermore, the show's production style and the age range of its target audience also resembled those of "Villa Alegre."

The researcher included this step in the research to avoid the use of the term, "culture," in her questions to informants. The term clearly holds different meanings for different people. Informants' interpretations of the term to mean either "high culture" or "artifacts" would have limited the scope of their responses to the content. Instead, the researcher hoped to focus the attention of her informants on their own day-to-day activities. To this end, the researcher talked about "culture" with informants in terms of questions like: "What aspects of the tape were the same as - or different from - the way that you and your family and friends would do things?," "How much like 'real life' were the situations on the show?," and "How much like the people you know do the people on the tape act?" In other words, the researcher directed the informants to think about the content of the tape in reference to the daily activities and behavior of their family, their friends, and themselves.

Therefore, "Bean Sprouts" served to accustom informants both to the kind of questions that would be asked about the stimulus tapes and to the task of making judgments about details and overall impressions of a television show.

Since viewing generally involves passively receiving the images flickering before one's eyes, making judgments about TV content is an "odd task," lying out of the realm of normal viewing activity. People do not view television with the notion that the content is changeable or that one's input could have any effect on the nature of the final product. The "Bean Sprouts" viewing also helped informants to make comparisons between their own life and the activities portrayed on the television show, and to focus on differences and similarities reflecting "culture" as manifested in ordinary, everyday activities. For example, informants pointed out as a difference that the "Bean Sprouts" characters spoke Cantonese and English rather than Spanish and English. At the same time, informants noted as a similarity certain characteristics of the "Bean Sprouts" portrayal that reflected life in an other-than-mainstream family in the United States.

The researcher conducted two types of interviews - individual and group. The first step in the individual interview was to establish the concept of "culture" as described above. The informant then viewed the entire stimulus tape all the way through. After this first viewing, informants provided general impressions about the content of the stimulus tape and responded to general, open-ended questions. Next, the informant viewed the same tape a second time on a segment-by-segment basis. After each segment, the informant responded to more specific questions about the content. During the second viewing, the informant was encouraged to stop the tape whenever she wished, and to comment freely on the content of the tape. Each of the individual interviews lasted approximately one and a half hours. They were recorded on audio tape.

The group interview was conducted in much the same way as the individual interview with the exception of the establishment of the concept of culture. There was no need to repeat that step because all of the participants in the group interview had engaged in the individual interview before participating in the group experience. A second, but similar, set of segments was used as the stimulus tape for the group interview. The group interviews lasted approximately the same length of time as the individual interviews. They were also audio recorded.

Sample of Findings

The research procedure yielded two types of data, each of which corresponded to one of the principal research questions. This paper provides a sample of the findings that address the cultural accuracy question to illustrate the kind of information the procedure yields. Informants' perceptions of "how real" the content of the segments was contributed to the findings on cultural accuracy. The "situations," or the premises on which the segments were built, were one of the main aspects of the show informants identified as real. Most segments centered around the feelings or behavior of a child in a problematic situation. Informants felt that the kinds of situations selected - and the reactions of the child to them - were real. One segment, for example, involved a child who had hit his friend. As the segment developed, the child revealed that his playmate was a girl, and that she had hit the boy first. Informants agreed that this was a typical situation in which a child of the same age as the one portrayed would find himself. They also agreed that a child of that age might hit his friend, even though she was a girl. Another segment involved a brother and sister who sneaked out of bed at night to retrieve their new puppy and play with it in their bedroom.

Informants agreed that this was a typical situation and that children at the age portrayed would respond in the same way.

In contrast, however, informants felt that the actions of the adults portrayed in the show did not reflect how adults really would behave. The two segments described above exemplify the problems informants had with the portrayals of adults. In the segment in which the boy had hit his friend, Dona Luz, a matronly storekeeper, displayed no anger in her response to the boy's "confession." Instead, she initiated a discussion with him about the Golden Rule. She then gave the child a snack to soothe his feelings. Informants were not convinced by Dona Luz' behavior. Instead, they suggested alternative ways that she might have responded. Dona Luz might have: 1) expressed anger at the child's actions, 2) cautioned the child never to hit first, 3) talked to the child in an attempt to find out what had provoked the fight, or 4) intervened, afterwards, by talking with the parents of the other child involved. Informants indicated that Dona Luz would have punished the child if he had been found to be the instigator of the fight. Informants disagreed about the provision of a snack in this situation. More than half of the informants said that Dona Luz would have offered the snack, while more than a third thought the snack would not have been provided.

Informants also suggested that the parents of the children who had retrieved their puppy in the middle of the night would have acted differently. In the segment, the parents, upon discovering the puppy in the bedroom, joined their children in petting the puppy and talking about how much they liked it. Most informants agreed that the parents would have responded differently, but disagreed on how they would have responded. Informants suggested that the parents might have told the children that they should have asked permission to

get the dog. In addition, they might have been angry because the children were not "where they were supposed to be" - in bed and asleep. Informants expressed differences of opinion on whether the dog would be allowed in the house in the first place. Reflecting on their own behavior, slightly over one half said they would allow a dog inside, while the balance said they would not. A quarter of the informants would have permitted the dog in the bedroom.

Also a part of the findings addressing cultural accuracy were informants' perceptions of the language use patterns on "Villa Alegre." Language use on the show appeared to be salient to informants since comments about it permeated the interviews. Approximately half of the informants described the "translation-repetition" style of speaking as "just like we speak." Others asserted that they, their family and friends spoke one language at a time. That meant one of two things: 1) both participants in a single conversation would speak the same language - English or Spanish, or 2) when two languages were spoken in a single conversation, adults spoke Spanish and children who spoke English. Since conversational patterns on the show did not always follow these rules, informants frequently had difficulty associating the characters in the segments with the language they spoke. In the segment about the puppy, for example, one of the two children and one parent spoke Spanish, while the other parent and child spoke English. Informants insisted that the portrayal did not reflect the manner in which a conversation among these four people in "real life." Instead, they predicted that, if the conversation took place in two languages, the children would speak the same language and the adults would speak the other. In reality, however, such a conversation would have taken place all in one language.

When informants saw segments that were contrived such as this one so that an adult spoke English and a child spoke Spanish, they often "missed" this characteristic on the first viewing. Instead, informants "remembered" what they would expect to occur: that the adult had spoken Spanish and the child had spoken English. On the second viewing, informants were often surprised to discover their own misperception. Informants experienced this same phenomenon with respect to other details apart from language. For example, when one informant first saw the segment about the puppy, he missed the detail that the boy and girl shared a bedroom. He was dismayed to discover this fact on the second viewing because the sleeping arrangements portrayed contradicted his values.

The language use on "Villa Alegre" stimulated informants to talk about "code switching" (Valdes-Fallis, 1976), or the use of two languages on the phrase, clause, or sentence level. Informants described this phenomenon as "mixing it up," the "half and half" or, in Spanish, "la mitad y mitad." Nearly three-fourths of the informants indicated that they or their acquaintances used the two languages together in this way. It was not clear whether informants perceived the language use on "Villa Alegre" as code switching and offered descriptions of their own code-switching behavior to illustrate the similarity between it and the language use on the show, or whether thy intended to distinguish their own language use from the "Villa Alegre" language through their descriptions of this phenomenon. Informants did suggest that the language on the show differed from - and was "better than" - the language they used every day. One teenager, for example, asserted that her acquaintances made more "mistakes" than the show characters and used more "incorrect" words, such as "'pucha' la puerta" (instead of "'empuja' la puerta," or "push the door").

Regardless of whether or not informants perceived a resemblance between the language on the show and the language they spoke, informants generally approved of the language use patterns on "Villa Alegre." This approval stemmed from informants' perceptions of the intent of the show's language use patterns. Informants inferred that the language was presented to enable all viewers to understand what was being said on the show. In addition, they assumed that the intent of the language patterns was to instruct viewers in English or Spanish as a second language. Furthermore, informants commended the show for serving as a model of bilingualism, or for legitimizing the use of two languages. The show's performance of this service outweighed any criticism they might have had for a lack of resemblance between the language used on the show and the way people spoke in real life.

The data addressing the cultural accuracy question also included information about informants' lives and culture that did not necessarily reflect the content of the segments. The fact that the interviews yielded this information - and its richness in quality - were one of the surprises in the results of the study. For example, one animated segment showed a male "fantasy character" preparing a "remedio," or home remedy, for his daughter who had a cold. This scene elicited a stream of responses, mostly on the part of the older informants, about "remedios." Informants described "remedios" that they or their relatives used. In addition, they detailed the process for making certain remedies, and listed the ingredients involved. They also explained which "remedios" were appropriate for treating what illnesses. In the same segment, the man sang to his daughter while rocking her to sleep. Informants responded to this scene by describing the similar practices of various members of the informants' families, along with the names of songs

they sang to get children to sleep. In some cases, informants even supplied the words to those songs. In response to another segment, one informant talked at length about the travels of her Indian grandfather in the mountains of New Mexico. She also described governmental pressure on her aunt to sell for a pittance a large piece of valuable land in the Southwest. Greatly resembling oral histories in their quality and detail, these narratives supplied information that could be used to produce additional segments of the television show to reflect the cultural group.

Further Development of the Research Procedure

The further development of the research procedure will follow several avenues. One focus will be the process of identifying variables that define salient differences of perspective on the target culture from within that group. This designation of variables is essential to the achievement of culturally accurate portrayals. Since the variables reflecting the variation within one target culture will not transfer to another target group, key variables must be identified for each target culture with which this kind of research is used. One direction for research will seek to establish a procedure for identifying these variables through a profile of the target culture created as a part of pre-production activities. A second research direction will involve the introduction of additional variables, identified in the original study, to the criteria for selecting Chicano informants, and an examination of the nature of the information these variables elicit from informants. These variables include social class, generation of residence in the United States, and regional differences in residence patterns.

Another focus will be the use of the research procedure in studies involving other "target cultures." In this kind of research, target cultures

are not restricted to ethnic groups. Instead, groups such as senior citizens or handicapped individuals, who share a "way of doing things," or a "culture," may be defined as the target culture. The use of the procedure with other groups will facilitate a consideration of whether the procedure can be adopted for other groups and of the modifications necessary to do so.

The questioning techniques probing "fact-value" distinctions also demand further research. In their responses to program content, informants tend to report on the culture as it should be rather than as it is. In other words, their responses reflect an "ideal" form of the culture. The tendency to respond in this way may reflect an unarticulated awareness of the media convention of portraying a person or situation on television in their "ideal form." Regardless, this leaves the researcher with two questions: 1) which form of the culture should be reflected on television, and 2) how to distinguish between the "ideal" and "real" forms of the culture in the responses of informants. The answer to the first question must come from members of the target culture. Additional development of questioning techniques that probe this "fact-value" distinction will resolve the second question.

The set of questions probing the potential of fantasy content to be "culturally accurate" also requires development. Informants tended to discount fantasy material in their responses to the content. Their judgments revealed the perception that what was "not real" could not be "culturally accurate." It is clear, however, that fantasy content can exist within the context of the particular culture. The existence of myths and folktales are merely one example of this phenomenon. Questioning techniques that assist informants in recognizing the existence of "culturally accurate" fantasy

content within the culture must be developed. Through additional questioning, this recognition will allow informants to make the distinction, essential to this research, between culturally accurate and culturally inaccurate fantasy content.

Another possible modification in the research procedure would introduce an ethnographic film or videotape of the target culture as a basis for comparison with the stimulus tape. The passivity of the television viewing experience to which the informant is accustomed and the informant's difficulty in contemplating the possibility of altering televised images have been acknowledged above. The use of ethnographic material as a part of the interview would address these problems by illustrating to informants another way in which their culture could be represented on videotape.[8] This ethnographic material would present informants with an additional set of images with which they could compare their own concept of their culture. The research employing this innovation in the procedure would investigate whether the introduction of this contrast would enhance the informants' ability to report on the accuracy of the content of the stimulus tapes.

Apart from its contribution to formative evaluation, this research procedure demonstrated its utility as a vehicle for eliciting cultural information. The researcher gained entree to the cultural group through the presence of the television set. The use of a children's show as stimulus material broke down the reserve of the informants and established rapport. One teenager, a thirteen-year-old "going on thirty-five," approached the interview with an air of sophistication calculated to communicate that she was

[8] In essence, the "Bean Sprouts" segment served much the same function. While its primary purpose was to establish the concept of culture with informants, it served as a contrast to the content of the "Villa Alegre" tapes and elicited comparisons between them and the Cantonese portrayal.

"above it all." Once the tape came on, she "melted" and chattered animatedly about the tapes, herself, and her perceptions of the culture. An older man, enlisted by his wife as a participant in the study, rushed into the interview with the intent of getting it over with as quickly as possible. As soon as the tape came on, however, he relaxed and talked at length about its content. The reactions of these two informants illustrate an engagement in the interview that occurred repeatedly. This phenomenon suggests that, apart from its use in formative evaluation, the research procedure may serve as a tool for oral history or cultural description.

The primary contribution of the procedure, however, is to the shaping of a television program. The procedure departs from established practice by attempting to ensure that what appears on the screen is accurate with respect to a cultural group and by involving members of the target culture in determining that accuracy. As more and more studies on the effects of television indicate that information learned from television contributes to the viewer's image of the world, the need for such a procedure increases. To the degree that children learn about their own cultural group from television, this procedure provides a mechanism to ensure that the televised portrayal will be a source of cultural affirmation.

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